



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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CONTENTS

28 November 1995

CENTRAL AFRICA

Burundi

President Leaves for Cairo, Benin Summits [<i>Bujumbura Radio</i>]	1
--	---

Cameroon

Biya Presents Constitution Bill To Parliament [<i>Libreville Radio</i>]	1
Party Head Views Constitution, Elections [<i>Libreville Radio</i>]	1

Rwanda

President Bizimungu Leaves for Cairo Summit [<i>Kigali Radio</i>]	2
Ex-Premier Alleges 2d 'Wave of Genocide' [<i>AFP</i>]	2

EAST AFRICA

Ethiopia

Rwandan President Reiterates Need for UN Pullout [<i>Addis Ababa TV</i>]	3
--	---

Kenya

Archbishop Among Rwandans Arrested Over Weekend [<i>DAILY NATION 27 Nov</i>]	3
--	---

Tanzania

President Mkapa Appoints Prime Minister [<i>Dar es Salaam Radio</i>]	3
Prime Minister Takes Oath [<i>Dar es Salaam Radio</i>]	4

Uganda

President Museveni Leaves for Egypt Summit [<i>Kampala Radio</i>]	4
Army Officials Say SPLA Hands Over Dissidents [<i>Nairobi TV</i>]	4

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Portugal Receives Mandela Support on East Timor [<i>Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS 22 Nov</i>]	5
Mbeki Greets Russian Accord on Space Program [<i>SAPA</i>]	5
New Diplomatic Effort Needed on Nigeria [<i>Johannesburg Radio</i>]	5
Embassies React 'Cautiously' to McBride Issue [<i>BEELD 22 Nov</i>]	6
Department on McBride Posting [<i>SAPA</i>]	7
Country To Supply MiG Spare Parts to Africa [<i>Johannesburg Radio</i>]	7
Denel Discussing Helicopter Sales to Malaysia [<i>SAPA</i>]	7
Defense Minister Names 4 to Secretariat [<i>THE CITIZEN 24 Nov</i>]	8
Buthlezi Doubts Value of ANC Constitution Talks [<i>Johannesburg Radio</i>]	8
Cracks Noted in ANC-COSATU-SACP Alliance [<i>SAPA</i>]	8
Holomisa on ANC Effort To Sideline 'Populists' [<i>SOWETAN 28 Nov</i>]	8
ANC Denies Campaign [<i>SAPA</i>]	9
South African Press Review for 27 Nov [<i>THE STAR 27 Nov, etc.</i>]	9

South African Press Review for 28 Nov [BUSINESS DAY 28 Nov, etc.]	10
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SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Prime Minister, General Describe Peace Process [Luanda TV]	11
UNITA Blames Government for Army Talks Flop [Jamba Voz da Resistencia]	11
Conflicting Reports on Troop Confinement Noted	12
UN: 150 Men Received Daily [Luanda Radio]	12
UNITA Troops Abandon Sites [Maputo Radio]	12
UNITA Confinement Going 'Slowly' [Luanda Radio]	12
Troop Confinement at 'Standstill' [Luanda TV]	12
New UNITA Commander for Southern Huambo Named [Jamba Voz da Resistencia]	13

Mozambique

Renamo Leader Says 'No Reason To Resume War' [Maputo Radio]	13
Stresses Need for Early Elections [Maputo Radio]	13
Police Chief Opposes Renamo Police Bodyguards [Maputo Radio]	13
Finance Minister Affirms Need for IMF Program [Maputo Radio]	14

WEST AFRICA

Cote d'Ivoire

Legislative Elections Proceed 'Smoothly' [Abidjan Radio]	15
Results Give Ruling Party 145 Seats [Abidjan TV]	15
Two Opposition Leaders Excluded From Elections [AFP]	15
Editorial Views Delays in Installing Democracy [LE JOUR 20 Nov]	16

Ghana

Butrus-Ghali Arrives 26 Nov on 4-Day Visit [Accra Radio]	16
Holds 'Closed-Door' Talks [Accra Radio]	17
Backs Economic Revival Efforts [Accra Radio]	18
Papers on Execution of Nigerian Activists [Accra Radio]	19
Economic Cooperation With Libya To Increase [Accra Radio]	19
Resolution Issued at Energy Ministers Conference [Accra Radio]	20

Nigeria

Army Chief Diya on International 'Face-Off' [Lagos TV]	20
Wants Mandela 'Reined In' [Johannesburg Radio]	21
Urges Dialogue With South Africa [Lagos Radio]	21
'Tactical Blunders' With Executions Admitted [AFP]	21
Military Governor Defends Saro-Wiwa Execution [THE GUARDIAN 27 Nov]	21
'Crisis Cell' Set Up 'To Woo Back' West [Libreville Radio]	22
Mood in Ogoniland Described as 'Peaceful' [Lagos TV]	23
Stock Exchange Head Calls Sanctions 'Blessing' [VANGUARD 22 Nov]	23
Northern Elders Hail Execution of Nine Ogonis [VANGUARD 22 Nov]	23
POLICY Warns Country Faces Isolation	24
Urges Pursuit of Justice [POLICY 27 Nov]	24
TELL Presses Ogonis To 'Close Ranks'	25
Urges Government Apology [TELL 27 Nov]	26
Paper Denies Media To Blame for World Reaction [VANGUARD 22 Nov]	28

Burundi

President Leaves for Cairo, Benin Summits

EA2711202295 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale
du Burundi Radio in French 1100 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The head of state, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, left this morning for the Cairo and Cotonou summits. In Cairo, the heads of state of the Great Lakes Region — Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire, Tanzania, and Uganda — will meet to search for peace and development. The francophone summit will take place in Cotonou.

At Bujumbura International Airport, the head of state talked about the Burundian contribution to the Cairo summit, and the chances of success. He was interviewed by our television colleague (Gita Karema).

[Begin recording] [(Karema)] Mr. President, you are leaving for the Cairo summit. Do you think all the warring sides will attend that meeting? What should we expect from the summit? Is it not likely to become just another summit?

[Ntibantunganya] It is a summit of governments and not belligerents. Governments will discuss among themselves how they can support each other, and study indispensable mechanisms for solving the security problem which is affecting the subregion, notably due to the presence of refugees.

[(Karema)] What will Burundi's message at the Cotonou summit be?

[Ntibantunganya] Burundi's message is simple. Burundi is an active member of the francophone family, and Burundi would like the francophone family to progress, not only at the level of speaking the language but also in other forms of development.

[(Karema)] Mr. President, you are leaving during the absence of the prime minister. Are you not afraid of leaving a void behind you?

[Ntibantunganya] There is no void, the country is well under control. Do not worry. [end recording]

Cameroon

Biya Presents Constitution Bill To Parliament

AB2711220095 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Paul Biya of Cameroon today introduced a constitutional review bill at the National Assembly in Yaounde. This bill envisages the restoration of decentralized local government areas to ensure greater participation of Cameroonians in

the management of local affairs and the establishment of a senate and a constitutional court. Let us listen to President Paul Biya speaking to Jean Mater Ndi:

[Begin Biya recording] In principle, the draft review bill unequivocally advocates a liberal and democratic society which guarantees respect for human rights and freedoms. It guarantees the rights of minority groups and recognizes government authority and traditional values. It asserts the decentralized nature of the state, and the legality of our two official languages. It establishes a clear separation of powers among the various arms of government. [end recording]

Party Head Views Constitution, Elections

AB2311172695 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1215 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Cameroon, Jacques Bimai, the Social Democratic Party for Recovery (PSDR) leader, held a news conference in the capital Yaounde, yesterday. During the news conference, the PSDR leader spoke on the current issues in the country, notably constitutional reform, and the municipal elections slated for 21 January, 1996. He also drew the attention of the deputies to certain points in the Constitution, which will soon be examined by parliament. Here is Jacques Bimai talking to our correspondent Jean-Mater Ndi:

[Begin recording] [Bimai] Regarding constitutional reform, our party wants a constitutional conference, and the holding of a referendum on the draft Constitution. In his usual characteristic manner, the head of state chose a second possibility. We are legalistic, and we would like our deputies to take certain points into consideration. For example, the three powers — the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary — should be independent of one another. The president of the Republic should try to rise above these three powers. He should, for instance, be the supreme head of the Armed Forces, and the head of the executive coming from a political party or from a majority party in parliament.

There is also something which is very important for the future. Given the fact that human rights have been very much violated in our country, a constitutional court should be established to settle disputes between the citizens and the state, and especially between the communes and the state.

[Ndi] What about the municipal elections?

[Bimai] At any rate, we are happy that the municipal elections will be held on 1 January 1996. Our party is still young and we cannot participate in the upcoming municipal elections. This is another way of saying that a party can be formed not simply because of electoral

possibilities. We condemn improvisation, and we are preparing for future elections. We, however, wish that the upcoming elections will be free and fair for all participating political parties, and that the elections will be held in a democratic and peaceful atmosphere. [end recording]

Rwanda

President Bizimungu Leaves for Cairo Summit

EA2711204795 Kigali Radio Rwanda in English
1145 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] President Pasteur Bizimungu has left for Cairo this morning to attend a five-day summit of heads of state of the Great Lakes region. According to the president, in a brief press conference before his departure, the meeting aims at finding modalities under which the repatriation of Rwandan refugees can be speeded up, among other items on the agenda. Asked what his expectations were over the meeting, President Pasteur Bizimungu says the real outcome of the summit would be [known] in reality after the summit. President Pasteur Bizimungu is leading a delegation that includes the minister for foreign affairs, Dr. Anastase Gasana, and the director of cabinet in the president's office, Colonel Frank Mugambage. [passage omitted]

Ex-Premier Alleges 2d 'Wave of Genocide'

AB2711225095 Paris AFP in English
1546 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Nairobi, 27 Nov (AFP) — An international war crimes tribunal on Rwanda began work Monday [27 November] as a former Rwandan prime minister claimed the Tutsi-dominated Army massacred more than 250,000 people in revenge killings last year.

Court clerk Andronico Adede told AFP by telephone from the Tanzanian town of Arusha, where the tribunal sits, that South African Judge Navanethem Pillay had arrived and begun studying the first indictment. [passage omitted]

Adede said he was ready for the December 1 arrival of the five tribunal judges, although the courtroom itself still has to be built inside a conference centre here.

In a separate development, former Rwandan Premier Faustin Twagiramungu said in a communique obtained by AFP here that the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] Army had "massacred more than 250,000 people" in a second wave of genocide. Twagiramungu, a moderate Hutu who left the government in August, had earlier claimed in a Canadian newspaper that the Hutus died in "revenge killings" by the RPF and that in 16 months, it had "done worse than the assassinated President Juvenal Habyarimana in 20 years of power."

It was the death of Habyarimana, a Hutu, on April 6 1994 which sparked last year's genocide.

This time, in a communique drawn up in Brussels, Twagiramungu wrote: "As for massacres of more than 250,000 people, we have irrefutable proof backing up our claims, and challenge anyone who claims the contrary to agree to an independent international inquiry to be launched into these crimes."

"The crimes committed in the Habyarimana regime, the massacres and genocide which he prepared, no matter how monstrous they were, can in no way justify or excuse those attributed to the RPF," he added. He called on the international community to stop all aid "which supports the Rwandan Government in its criminal work."

The RPF has already countered allegations of massacres, admitting isolated reprisals did take place but blaming them on soldiers who had been punished.

Twagiramungu also refused to recognise a statement signed by leading figures of the mainly-Hutu Democratic Republican Movement (MDR) ousting him as leader.

The statement was signed last week by 12 senior members of the MDR, part of Rwanda's coalition government along with the RPF, including Foreign Minister Anastase Gasana. They notably criticised the former premier for his comments about alleged massacres of Hutus by the RPF, but Twagiramungu said their statement had not been properly drawn up or agreed by the party.

Ethiopia

Rwandan President Reiterates Need for UN Pullout

EA2711222095 Addis Ababa ETV Television Network in Amharic 1730 gmt 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of Rwanda has said that if the UN peacekeeping forces in Rwanda do not pull out according to schedule, they will be considered as forces of invasion.

In a statement at Bole International Airport, in Addis Ababa where he stopped off on his way from Kigali to Cairo, President Pasteur Bizimungu said that unless the UN peacekeeping forces pull out from Rwanda by 8 December, all measures will be taken against them as invaders of the country. According to President Bizimungu, Rwanda currently has the capability to protect her internal and border security.

The president said that he will hold discussions with the leaders of Uganda, Zaire, Burundi, and Tanzania in the presence of the former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, in Cairo, on regional security, and the issue of refugees.

On arrival and departure at Bole International Airport, President Bizimungu was welcomed and seen off by the culture and information minister, Wolde Mikael Chamo.

Kenya

Archbishop Among Rwandans Arrested Over Weekend

EA2711180395 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 27 Nov 95 p 1

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] More than 50 Rwandans — including the former Anglican archbishop of Kigali — were arrested over the weekend during a police swoop on various city estates. The arrests targeted both Tutsi and Hutu communities although the majority were Hutus who held senior political and military positions in the government of the late President Juvenal Habyarimana and the caretaker government that took over following his death in a suspicious plane crash last year.

Police Commissioner Shedrach Kiruki said through a duty officer at police headquarters that a statement will be issued today. Foreign Affairs Minister Kalonzo Musyoka was reportedly out of the city.

Later reports yesterday indicated that the archbishop, Monsignor Sebununguari, who is ill, had been released. A spot check by the NATION confirmed that 30 Rwandans were being held at Kilimani, Kasarani and Muthangari police stations. We were unable to confirm the exact number of those arrested but news agencies put the figure at more than 100.

The crackdown started on Friday [24 November] night and was intensified yesterday.

Among those in custody is a major in the defeated Rwanda Army identified as Major Magare Melanie. She is said to be in her 40's and was picked from her residence in Githurai Estate together with three others identified as John Rwamihigo, Kalinganire Joseph and Mbenimana Fredrick. They are held at Kasarani police station. "All of them are between 30 and 40 years," a police source said.

Mr. Michel Bagaragaza, former chairman of the Tea Office, was also arrested but there were conflicting reports as to the fate of Felicien Kabuga, former financial backer of the notorious Thousand Hills radio station [Mille Collines]. Some Hutus said he had been arrested while others said his home was searched but he was not taken away.

One young Tutsi, Olivier Rukundo, the son of Kigali Presbyterian Church leader, Pastor Karamaga, was also arrested. Mr. Chris Nzabandora, spokesman for the Rwandan refugee group Rally for the Return to Democracy [name as published], said the crackdown had "intensified" in several neighborhoods in Nairobi. [passage omitted]

Diplomats in Nairobi said the reported arrests did not appear to be linked to the announcement last week of the first list of people to be charged before the tribunal. Hutus critical of the arrests said they were meant for "international public consumption".

The weekend arrests come in the wake of a row which followed accusations by the Kigali government that Kenya was harbouring leaders of last year's genocide in which more than 500,000 people were killed.

Earlier, President Moi had criticised the Arusha tribunal whose mandate he wants extended to cover events leading to the downing of the plane carrying the late President Habyarimana and his Burundi counterpart Cyprien Ntaryamira.

The prosecutor of the UN tribunal, Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone, was in Nairobi two weeks ago and got assurance from attorney general Amos Wako that Kenya will co-operate with his team.

Tanzania

President Mkapa Appoints Prime Minister

EA2711204395 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1600 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Benjamin Mkapa has appointed Mr. Fredrick Sumaye as the new prime

minister of Tanzania. Mr. Sumaye, who is the MP for Hanang constituency, was confirmed by the MP's as prime minister. Out of a total of 266 votes, 232 votes were in his favor, while 34 votes were against him.

The election of Mr. Fredrick Sumaye, who was the agriculture minister before the multiparty elections in the country, was introduced in parliament by the government's attorney general, Mr. Andrew Chenge. Introducing the prime minister, Mr. Andrew Chenge mentioned Mr. Sumaye's various qualities, including hard work.

Speaking to the media soon after his appointment as prime minister, Mr. Sumaye said he will help President Benjamin Mkapa to the best of his abilities to fight corruption and to achieve development for the Tanzanian people. He also said he is ready to declare his wealth, and to show how he came by it, if asked to do so.

Prime Minister Takes Oath

*EA2811120595 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
External Service in English 1000 GMT 28 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] President Benjamin Mkapa has sworn in Mr. Fredrick Sumaye as the new prime minister of the united Republic of Tanzania. Mr. Sumaye's nomination by the president was endorsed yesterday by members of the union parliament by 232 votes out of 266 votes cast. Thirty-four MPs voted against.

While taking an oath today at the State House in Dar es Salaam, Mr. Sumaye said he will advocate and safeguard the union Constitution according to

the law (?put). He also promised to advise correctly the president of the united Republic in all matters concerning leadership. [passage omitted]

Uganda

President Museveni Leaves for Egypt Summit

*EA2711220495 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1900 GMT 27 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has left for Cairo, Egypt, to attend the regional conference on Rwanda and Burundi which opens tomorrow in the Egyptian capital. The conference has been convened by the heads of state of Zaire, Tanzania, and Uganda, with the backing of the heads of state of Rwanda and Burundi. [passage omitted]

Army Officials Say SPLA Hands Over Dissidents

*EA2311200595 Nairobi KTN Television Network
in English 1600 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ugandan Army officials said the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army, SPLA, has handed over 12 insurgents of the anti-Kampala dissidents, Lord's Resistance Army. A Ugandan Army spokesman said in Kampala that the anti-Kampala rebels were captured during a battle between the SPLA and the Sudanese Government troops in the southern town of Kit some 50 km north of Uganda. The spokesman did not state if the Ugandan rebels were fighting alongside Sudanese forces against the Sudanese Government troops. [sentence as heard]

Portugal Receives Mandela Support on East Timor

BR2411152095 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS
in Portuguese 22 Nov 95 p 7

[Report by Lilia Bernardes: "South Africa Sensitive to East Timor"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Cape Town — Mario Soares did not conceal his satisfaction yesterday as he was strolling over the lawns of his official residence in Johannesburg, after having received Mangosutho Buthelezi (Inkatha leader), Dawie de Villiers (minister of the environment and tourism), and Kader Asmal (minister of hydrological and forestry resources).

He was smiling and confident about Africa's future and about the sensitivity displayed with respect to the Timorese people's struggle, and if nothing more were to happen, Soares' first two days in Pretoria fully justified the president's visit to South Africa. It is true that Nelson Mandela omitted the issue of Timor in his speech Monday, which caused some more biased interpretations. However, he applauded Soares and privately conveyed his solidarity to the Portuguese president.

"I had a conversation on the issue of East Timor with President Mandela, and the African National Congress' stance on East Timor is a well-known stance which is long-standing and still holds. There are simply state relations, as is obvious, and we must understand them," Soares said.

Asked by DIARIO DE NOTICIAS about what South Africa can do for Timor, he recalled that in an internal committee on disarmament, "something has already been done, which was to prevent the sale of arms to Indonesia, and that was already something tangible."

With respect to possible competition between Portugal and South Africa, especially with respect to Angola and Mozambique, Soares believes that there is no reason for rivalries. "Portugal has dealings with Angola and Mozambique, and always takes care to emphasize that they are sovereign countries. The colonial spirit has disappeared, so there are no reasons for rivalries."

These statements were made at the end of the morning, following the day's audiences.

"Three very interesting meetings," Soares said "for learning South Africa's domestic policy and the way in which they view the whole region of Africa — especially Angola and Mozambique." [passage omitted]

Mbeki Greets Russian Accord on Space Program

MB2711203195 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1927 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Nov 27 SAPA — South Africa is to join Russia's space programme, in accordance with agreements signed between the two countries in Pretoria on Monday [27 November].

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told reporters he was "stunned" by Russian Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets' offer inviting a South African spaceman to join his country's space programme. "We accepted the offer. We will be the first country in Africa to do this," Mbeki said.

Fourteen agreements were signed between South Africa and Russia during the five-day visit of a delegation led by Soskovets, four of them on Monday.

Monday's signings included a pact on military co-operation. Defence Minister Joe Modise said South Africa was looking forward to further co-operation arising out of the agreement in order to upgrade its Cheetah and other aircraft.

Mbeki said co-operation in the scientific field was important for the South Africa's modernisation. He made particular mention of research on how the two countries could best benefit from their mineral wealth.

Mbeki said bearing in mind Russia was a member of the United Nations Security Council, it was important for South Africa to maintain close contact with an eye on the country's international development.

New Diplomatic Effort Needed on Nigeria

MB2711175095 Johannesburg SAsm Radio Network
in English 1507 GMT 27 Nov 95

[From the "PM Live" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Announcer John Matham] Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad accounted to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs today over his department's bungling of policy towards Nigeria. President Mandela was severely embarrassed at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting when Nigeria executed nine human rights activists after Mandela had told the world he believed quiet diplomacy would succeed in staying the executions. Joining us now on the line from Pretoria is Raymond Suttner who is chairperson of the Portfolio Committee. Mr. Suttner, how did Aziz Pahad account for the serious misjudging of General Abacha's regime?

[Suttner] Let me say that we didn't haul Mr. Pahad over the carpet as your introduction suggested. He gave us an

account of the various processes which happened, many of which are not fully publicized inside the country, explaining how some of these processes had led to the prevention of execution of Obasanjo and other people. He also suggested that these processes were a lot more effective than we thought and that no one could have predicted the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and others — that in fact the actions of other diplomats at the time seem to suggest it wasn't only the South Africans who were caught unawares, but a number of other states, and this was not challenged in the meeting.

[Matham] The Department of Foreign Affairs has been criticized widely in the media over events in Nigeria. What did Mr. Pahad say to you that would perhaps change that perception?

[Suttner] Well, it wasn't so much what was said to us, but that in combination we worked towards moving forward from this point. There were certain criticisms, or let us say we regretted the fact that South Africa had moved from one position to another position and does not seem to have much support for what it's doing at the moment, and we set about trying to work towards a new initiative that could bring a lot of states behind processes towards democratization in Nigeria.

If [words indistinct] give you some idea of the process that we had in mind. We suggested that what has happened now is that South Africa has embarked on a sanctions mode and in fact is fairly isolated in this regard. No other African, Asian, or Latin American state has really joined us in withdrawing their ambassadors from Nigeria, and we felt that we should embark on a new diplomatic effort which is based on a completely new reappraisal of our strategic approach towards securing democratization in Nigeria. We felt that such an approach should move away from bilateral relations, where we have seen that we have very limited power, and be in consultation, and acting together with a number of other forces such as the Commonwealth eight, the OAU, and others.

We felt also, and this relates to your earlier question, that we needed further actions to ensure that insofar as we rely on information on Nigeria we must take account of alternative information to that which we have relied on up to now.

Any further efforts that we make towards a settlement in Nigeria should also rely on the input of talking with the opposition, however fragmented it might be. We also felt that civil society has now been invited to involve itself in the question of Nigeria. We feel that this is a very positive phenomena — the involvement of civil society in South Africa. We need to take this

constituency with us in the future developments, not just turn them on and off like a tap.

Finally, we felt that the committee, the Parliamentary Committee on foreign Affairs, could play a constructive role. Amongst others we suggested that we could possibly make a trip to Nigeria to gather information, talk to figures in the opposition and government. We could also make contact with other parliaments with a view to trying to get them to bring pressure on their own governments to follow an agreed strategy towards international action which may lead to democratization in Nigeria. This position was a unanimous position of the committee and the members of the department and the (?ministries) present, including the deputy minister. I found they agreed with it.

[Matham] Now President Mandela over the weekend said that Nigerians themselves should start coordinating their campaigns more effectively within the country. What will the department be doing in order to cooperate with — you mentioned the opposition — but do you have any specifics about what the government will be doing to cooperate with Nigerian opposition groups?

[Suttner] Well, I think government can't really cooperate so much as try to stimulate a climate which enables opposition groups to be heard, and to organize things like that. We would like to see a situation where free political activity is allowed in Nigeria. I think one of the problems about the process up to now — we moved full circle after the executions and there's not clarity as what is the precise process that we want to see unfold in Nigeria. Amongst other factors would be free political activity which we hope stimulates Nigerian opposition.

[Matham] Thank you very much. That's Raymond Suttner who's chairperson of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Embassies React 'Cautiously' to McBride Issue

*MB2811121495 Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
22 Nov 95 p 2*

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign missions in South Africa have reacted cautiously to the question whether someone like Mr. Robert McBride, who was imprisoned for murder, would be allowed entry to their countries as a diplomat.

Mr. McBride was given three death sentences for the 1986 bombing of Magoo's Bar in Durban, which killed three women. After the transition to democracy, he was granted amnesty and released from prison.

The American and German embassies would not be drawn on the question of whether their governments

would accept someone with a background of murder as a foreign diplomat. Spokespersons for both these embassies said it was a hypothetical question. The German spokesperson added that at the present moment there was "no parallel" for such a case, and he could therefore not comment.

A spokesman for the Belgian embassy said the process of sending an ambassador to a country is a very complex one. He said the accepted procedure is that the name of a possible ambassador is "discreetly" given to the authorities of the host country, to determine whether he would be acceptable. If acceptable, the country of origin would then announce the person's name officially.

According to the spokesperson, it would be most unusual to embarrass a host country by sending a person who might not be acceptable. "If a country feels a person is suitable, there really isn't much one can do about it, but it would still be a difficult posting if the person is unacceptable for one or other reason."

Mr. Z. R. Ghazi, Egyptian press attache to South Africa, said his country would certainly not send anyone with a "negative background" to a foreign mission. However, he could not say whether Egypt would accept such a person as a diplomat from another country. He said the fact that someone had received political amnesty changed the picture significantly, as such a person is once again placed in the same position as someone with no criminal history.

Department on McBride Posting

*MB2811070395 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2201 GMT 27 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Nov 27 SAPA — Former Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; former ANC military wing] cadre Robert McBride's application to join the foreign service as a diplomat went through full selection procedures, the Department of Foreign Affairs said on Monday [27 November].

The department in a statement confirmed McBride's appointment from November 1 this year. Foreign affairs said the selection panel that approved McBride's appointment comprised senior officials.

McBride became known as the "Magoo's bomber" in the 80s after he was convicted for detonating a bomb in Magoo's Bar in Durban. He was sentenced to three terms of life imprisonment for killing three women and injuring about 70 other people in the bar. He spent a number of years in prison but was granted amnesty as a political prisoner during the transition period.

The foreign affairs statement said McBride's application succeeded after he applied for a post advertised by

the department. "His application was duly processed and he underwent the full selection procedures. As part of the selection process, candidates undergo rigid management skills assessment programmes and Mr McBride, according to the results, scored among the highest in his group."

The department said McBride, currently undergoing a four-month diplomatic training course with 28 other successful candidates, "will be able to contribute to the department's future and its efforts in the international field".

After completion of the course, the department said it would appoint McBride to "a post that would best serve the interest of the country, at head office or abroad".

Country To Supply MiG Spare Parts to Africa

*MB2611180695 Johannesburg SAfm Radio Network
in English 1600 GMT 26 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] South Africa looks set to supply other countries on the continent with spare parts for their MiG fighter aircraft. This has emerged from an interview with Mr. Felix Persons, the South African head of the Moscow aircraft production organization which has just opened offices in Johannesburg.

[Begin Persons recording] There are a number of Russian MiG aircraft operating in Africa. These aircraft are unserviceable, or down, or in need of spare parts and repair; and this is possible now with the new political dispensation in Russia and South Africa to actually take care of these people and the customers from South Africa. And that's the whole idea. [end recording]

Denel Discussing Helicopter Sales to Malaysia

*MB2811121795 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1015 GMT 28 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Nov 28 SAPA — Denel arms manufacturing company on Tuesday [28 November] challenged media reports predicting the sale of about 20 Rooivalk [red falcon] and several Oryx helicopters to Malaysia. "We are only discussing and introducing our products to the Malaysian Government at this stage and there is no question of types of helicopters or numbers or amounts involved," Managing Director Johan Alberts said in a statement in Pretoria.

He said it was unlikely an announcement of such a deal would be made at the Lima air show on Langkawi Island, Malaysia, from December 5 to 10. "Due to the very early stage of our discussions it is most unlikely that an announcement will be made at the Lima air show."

Defense Minister Names 4 to Secretariat

MB2711184495 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN
in English 24 Nov 95 p 15

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Defence Minister Joe Modise yesterday announced four new appointments in the Defence Secretariat, adding the secretariat should function normally by April.

"The first permanent appointments are a manifestation of the goal to appoint civilians as well as a reflection of representativeness," Mr Modise said in a statement.

The new appointments, with effect from November [date indistinct] are: Mamatho Netsianda as deputy director-general of defence policy, programme and budgeting; Susan Rabkin as chief director of efficiency services; Aboobaker Ismail as chief director of defence policy and Shula Mngeni as deputy director in the parliamentary office. Defence Secretary Pierre Steyn had been appointed on September 1 last year.

Netsianda previously served as the executive assistant in the office of the Northern Province premier. Ms Rabkin as the political secretary of the organising department in the African National Congress' head office, and Ms Mngeni as an administrative researcher in Parliament's public service and administration committee.

Mr Ismail was temporary chief director of efficiency services in the Defence Secretariat. Since his return to South Africa in 1991 he has served in various committees and projects related to the transformation of the South African National Defence Force.

Buthelezi Doubts Value of ANC Constitution Talks

MB2711195995 Johannesburg SAsm Radio Network
in English 1600 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] President Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rebuffed an ANC proposal to resume talks on their constitutional differences. Last week ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa said he wanted to meet Mr. Buthelezi to urge him to end the IFP's boycott of the constitution-writing process. In response Mr. Buthelezi says he doesn't expect much to come out of a meeting with Mr. Ramaphosa at this stage. He says he's willing to meet Mr. Ramaphosa but finds it extremely difficult to know the value of such a meeting.

Earlier this year the IFP walked out of the Constitutional Assembly in protest against the ANC's refusal to go ahead with international mediation on KwaZulu/Natal.

Cracks Noted in ANC-COSATU-SACP Alliance

MB2511132395 Johannesburg SAsa in English
1114 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CAPE TOWN Nov 25 SAsa — The alliance between the ANC and its partners in the Western Cape is under strain according to the party's provincial secretary James Ngculu.

In a report to the ANC's Western Cape congress in Khayelitsha on Saturday he said the alliance with COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the SACP [South African Communist Party] and SANCO [South African National Civics Organization] was "more of a history than a dynamic, living alliance."

There had been problems with alliance partners' non-attendance of meetings while workers in the Khayelitsha/Ikapa area had embarked on action which was "anti-alliance." "COSATU remained quiet and sometimes became part of the problem," he said. "Further when it came to SANCO we found out that whereas the relationship remains good at provincial level, on the ground this was not the case and in some areas the relationship deteriorated.

"One critical question that we need to do is to inject the alliance with life...we are highlighting some of these weaknesses in the alliance in order to ensure that we breathe life into it." Ngculu also described ANC MP and head of Contralesa [Congress of Traditional Leaders] Phatekile Holomisa as a "toothless and swollen headed bulldog" for having unsuccessfully called for a boycott of the local elections.

Holomisa on ANC Effort To Sideline 'Populists'

MB2811131595 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
28 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Mzimasi Ngudle]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Environmental Affairs Deputy Minister and former Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa yesterday exposed a "witch-hunt investigation" carried out by people in the African National Congress and South African National Defence Force [SANDF] against him and former Transkei Defence Force officers.

Holomisa, who scooped most votes at the ANC's last consultative conference, said the investigation was part of a wider campaign to sideline "populists" within the organisation.

Holomisa said the thrust of the investigation was to establish what help former homeland military officers gave liberation movements before the elections. He said

that in the intelligence report the officers were referred to as "terrorists".

Holomisa said the intelligence report was compiled early this year and that another report was scheduled to have been discussed early this month.

Holomisa said President Nelson Mandela was probably unaware of the "dark conspiracy", carried out by Government intelligence structures under the leadership of SANDF intelligence officers Colonel D Shone and Mr "Socks" Sokupha — a former Umkhonto WeSizwe [Spear of the Nation, former ANC military wing] operative in the Eastern Cape's Border region who now serves in the SANDF.

Holomisa said Shone was the "overall overseer" of the abortive 1990 coup in Transkei. He also took credit for mounting the "1993 military raid sanctioned by FW de Klerk personally, in which sleeping schoolchildren were coldbloodedly slaughtered".

Holomisa said the "personalised" nature of the report chimed well with the orchestrated campaign against himself and others early this year who were "castigated as populists, sadly by our own organisation".

"It is a strange coincidence that the very people who were dubbed "populists" were the very ones who were charged to mobilise support and votes for the ANC in the April 27 elections," Holomisa said.

Holomisa said the report and the campaign against "populists" by some elitists using the ANC were evidence of "a desperate bid to get rid of certain people at whatever costs".

"It becomes apparent that now that the enemy has been overcome, the ANC can afford to turn inward and ferret out elements within its ranks who are deemed to be undesirable," Holomisa said.

ANC Denies Campaign

MB2811131995 *Johannesburg SAPA in English*
1004 GMT 28 Nov 95

[ANC statement issued on the SAPA PR Wire Service on 28 November]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The ANC has considered the statement made by ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) member Bantu Holomisa on the alleged existence of a "with-hunt investigation" against so-called populists within the organisation.

Given the seriousness of the allegations, the ANC insists that Holomisa should have exploited avenues available to him in the organisation to draw the attention of the constitutional structures to the allegations.

Opting for publication of the allegations before requesting either the National Executive Committee or the National Working Committee to investigate the matter is viewed in a very serious light.

Nonetheless, the ANC is satisfied that no such investigation is being conducted. In this regard, the ANC categorically denies the existence of cliques, factions or a cabal in its midst bent on the marginalisation of so-called populists in the ANC. The ANC remains one with a single collective leadership united in its resolve to create a better life for all.

South African Press Review for 27 Nov

MB2811063095

[FBIS Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Overseas Recruitment of Doctors — Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 27 November in a page-12 editorial comments on the Health Department decision to recruit Cuban doctors, saying "The temptation to use overseas recruitment as a stick with which to beat South African doctors must be avoided, as must the temptation to use rural service as a lever to extract unaffordable pay hikes." Since coercion "is not a serious option" the department "cannot be expected to stand around waiting for something positive to happen." However, it "would be surprising if the new recruitment policy, in spite of all the safeguards and reassurances, were not viewed by public sector doctors as potentially undermining of their requests for a better deal." THE STAR believes "a compromise which serves the interests of the country as well as the doctors must be found."

SOWETAN

Criticism of De Klerk, Mandela Over Indemnity Issue — "Deputy President FW de Klerk is being deliberately sinister about the indemnity issue to gain the support of the right wing," declares a page-12 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 27 November. If former minister of law and order Adriaan Vlok, former minister of defense General Magnus Malan, and others wanted indemnity, "they should have applied for it." "On the other hand, Mandela should not get angry with De Klerk. He should not say things like: I am the President of this country. I will decide who gets indemnity. When Mandela says things like that, he is joining De Klerk in lowering the dignity of their offices."

South African Press Review for 28 Nov
MB2811113295

[FBIS Editorial Report]

BUSINESS DAY

Truth Commission To Expose Crimes, Heal Nation — "In the strict sense, the NP [National Party] is right to accuse the ANC of double standards over the indemnification of those who committed crimes during SA's [South Africa] 'dirty war'," declares a page-14 editorial in Johannesburg **BUSINESS DAY** in English on 28 November. Former ANC military wing leaders "were given temporary immunity from prosecution under the Indemnity Act without disclosing what they did," yet the former defense minister, Magnus Malan, and other senior apartheid security force members "are to be hauled before the bar of public opinion in a murder trial." However, the paper points out that Malan "never made a valid application for indemnity detailing the acts for which he stands to be prosecuted." There are two conclusions: "either he has no need for indemnity, or he considers it safer to lie low than disclose criminal acts to the indemnity board." **BUSINESS DAY** believes that to establish his guilt or innocence, and to uncover the facts, "his trial must go ahead. He has an option: to make full disclosure to the truth commission, which has the power to terminate judicial proceedings." **BUSINESS DAY** further says that to dispel the suspicion that the ANC is "seeking revenge and that it favours its own rank and file," ANC leaders must also "disclose the full extent of any criminal activities." The truth commission is about "more than exposing the crimes of apartheid. It is a national reckoning aimed at healing the national psyche — and this means bringing all the violence of the past into the open."

THE CITIZEN

Immunity, Indemnity Confusion — Johannesburg **THE CITIZEN** in English on 27 November in its page-6 editorial "cannot think of anything more deplorable than President Mandela calling Deputy President De Klerk a 'joke' and National Party justice spokesman Danie Schutte calling President Mandela a 'con artist'." Schutte has accused Mandela of "continuously confus-

ing the immunity of the 77 leading ANC members with indemnity for those who made confessions." **THE CITIZEN** believes temporary immunities for the 77 "should be withdrawn if the law was to be applied evenly. Alternatively, immunity should be extended to the generals." "In the meantime, it would be best for all concerned if personal insults were avoided, for if anything will finish off the government of national unity it is exchanges of the kind we have witnessed at the weekend."

THE STAR

Mandela, De Klerk 'Displays of Silly Pique' — "It requires a long memory to recall the 'special relationship' between the President and his predecessor that once allegedly blessed the nation. Now the only specialness is a special animosity," begins a page-16 editorial in Johannesburg **THE STAR** in English on 28 November. "Mandela sinks to sadly puerile levels — 'a joke'. De Klerk's gritted-teeth efforts to maintain dignity are sabotaged when his lieutenants resort to terms like 'con man'." **THE STAR** reminds the two leaders that "the public are bored with their displays of silly pique. We are increasingly disappointed by the smallness of soul we find lurking beneath visages we would prefer to revere."

SOWETAN

NP, ANC Square Up Over Truth Commission — Commenting on the arrest of former defense minister Magnus Malan on murder charges, Johannesburg **SOWETAN** in English on 28 November in a page-12 editorial says President Mandela is "accusing Mr F W de Klerk of making fun of a matter that is serious. An NP spokesman accuses Mandela of acting like a conman. That accusation seems to fit the accuser just as neatly." **SOWETAN** believes the NP and the ANC are "squaring up for the kind of fight that will rage" around the truth commission. Former leaders of the government, such as Malan, "probably thought they were immune from prosecution for what took place during the apartheid era. They are now facing prosecution for a crime that took place after that, when South Africa was moving towards democracy. This alone makes them suitable suspects for prosecution."

Angola

Prime Minister, General Describe Peace Process

MB2811061795 Luanda TPA Television Network
in Portuguese 1930 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Report by Goncalves Inhangica]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Marcolino Jose Carlos Moco today met with all government personnel directly or indirectly involved in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. The main speakers were Generals Faustino Muteka and Higino Carneiro, chief and deputy chief of the government team to the Joint Commission. At the end of the meeting, Prime Minister Moco told the media he is comfortable with the results of the peace process signed in Lusaka.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Prime Minister Moco: Are you happy with the government's performance in implementing the Lusaka Protocol?

[Moco] Yes, broadly speaking I would say so. There are great financial difficulties. We have arrived at the important conclusion that the international community must give priority to supporting the government so it can implement urgent and extremely important plans.

[Correspondent] What are the main difficulties?

[Moco] In general terms, the general state budget is not ready to meet the expense of accommodating National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] officials and deputies, the cost of reopening roads and bridges, and so on. At first, we thought this work could be done at a later stage, but the truth is that the peace process now needs swifter implementation and that issue must be dealt with now.

[Correspondent] How do you see the latest developments in the peace process, notably the UNITA troop confinement?

[Moco] The latest steps are a source of comfort to me. They make me feel optimistic. Be that as it may, we have to work harder. If we dither, the peace process could run unnecessary risks. However, I would like to stress that I am comforted by the steps taken on 20 November. Speaking for myself and the whole nation, I think we must take more steps to make the peace process more solid. [end recording]

Deputy Minister Without Portfolio Higino Carneiro, who is also deputy chief of the government team to the Joint Commission, made the following assessment of the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Carneiro] It is true that it is not yet possible to move freely in every part of the country because UNITA continues to obstruct normal movement,

especially in areas under its control. However, if we consider what has been done to rebuild bridges and roads, I think we can say much has been achieved — though it is nowhere near enough. We have to deal with problems in the north, east, and center. Above all, our provincial governments must take concrete steps concerning secondary and tertiary routes.

[Correspondent] Can you give us an idea of what the government has spent to implement projects related to the peace process.

[Carneiro] We are not in the position to do so now, but we hope to be able to give more details soon.

[Correspondent] Could you make a brief assessment of the UNITA troop confinement? Reports say that UNITA has only confined 240 men in the last eight days.

[Carneiro] Information that reached me on 25 November indicated that 301 men had been disarmed and confined at the Vila Nova assembly area. Nonetheless, we will have to work harder. We have said so to UNITA and the UN Angola Verification Mission-3. They have undertaken to do so. We know that the program presented by UNITA has been reworked. We hope to meet tomorrow to see where we are heading. Naturally, we are worried because we cannot go on waiting to see all the personnel confined.

[Correspondent] What about the resumption of talks between the military commissions?

[Carneiro] I would like to believe that the UNITA personnel who left for working reasons are now back in the capital. If so, we can continue our efforts as soon as everything is in place. [end recording]

UNITA Blames Government for Army Talks Flop

MB2811061895 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is not to blame for the failure of the government, UNITA, and the UN Angola Verification Mission-3 [Unavem-3] to meet in Caconda, Huila Province, today. So said General Artur Santos Vinama, a member of the UNITA military delegation to the talks with the government on the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA].

Gen. Vinama told Eusebio Nicolao, our correspondent in Andulo, that the delegation to the meeting would be made up of Unavem-3's General Philip Valery Sibanda, a government military officer, and UNITA's General Arlindo Chenda Isaac Pena Ben-Ben. He also revealed that the meeting was designed to end the offensive

mounted by the government against UNITA-controlled areas in Huila Province.

Gen. Vinama said the Joint Commission's last meeting charged FAA General Staff Chief General Joao Baptista de Matos with telephoning his men in Huila regarding the meeting in Caconda on 27 November. The plane carrying the delegation was to leave Luanda, with a stopover in Andulo and Huambo today, and that is what exactly happened. When the delegation arrived in Andulo, however, an unidentified vice admiral contacted Gen. Joao de Matos to obtain new orders. In reply, the FAA General Staff chief said no preparations had been made in the field for the meeting. UNITA's Gen. Vinama did not understand what kind of preparations Gen. Joao de Matos wanted to be made in the field. [passage omitted]

Gen. Vinama said the FAA forces have occupied a number of UNITA-controlled areas in Huila Province — including Vila Branca, Calepi Commune, and Matruco — since the cease-fire came into effect. He expressed his party's continued readiness to meet at any time and called on the FAA General Staff to follow the path of dialogue to resolve existing problems in the Angolan peace process.

Conflicting Reports on Troop Confinement Noted

UN: 150 Men Received Daily

MB2711065495 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] military delegations will resume talks in Luanda on 27 November to take stock of the first eight days of troop confinement operations and monitoring of Rapid Intervention Police. The operations are under way in Vila Nova, while Londumbali and Cuima in Huambo Province, and Quibaxe, and Negage in northern Angola are priority areas. The United Nations says 150 men have been reporting to assembly points daily, but full details will be announced today.

The UN Angola Verification Mission [Unavem]-3 says more than 1,000 UNITA soldiers should have been confined to barracks in Vila Nova, an area earmarked for 5,000 men. Unavem-3 says it has created conditions to confine 15,000 men in Uige Province.

UNITA Troops Abandon Sites

MB2711150995 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Military issues continue to top the agenda of the Angolan Government-National

Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] talks one week after UNITA troops started their confinement process.

Reports say some UNITA soldiers have left the Vila Nova assembly area because of poor accommodations and a lack of food. To compound matters, Vila Nova is in a part of Angola where it rains ceaselessly.

The UN Angola Verification Mission 3 [Unavem-3] has not commented on these reports yet. UNITA says Unavem-3 is to blame for the fact that 150 UNITA soldiers quit setting up tents at the Pire confinement point in Cuanza Norte Province.

That, according to Unavem-3, is the bad news. The good news is that 151 UNITA soldiers have been registered and confined in the Vila Nova assembly area since 20 November. In addition, those forces have turned in 143 Ak-47 rifles, one 70-mm mortar, and three RPG-7 rocket launchers. [passage omitted]

UNITA Confinement Going 'Slowly'

MB2711151195 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Report by Alves Antonio]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There will be two meetings in Luanda this afternoon to discuss issues related to troop confinement. Prime Minister Marcolino Jose Carlos Moco is scheduled to meet the Angolan Government team to the Joint Commission, and UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye will meet with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] team.

A source close to the UN Angola Verification Mission-3 has just told Radio Angola that UNITA troop confinement has gone rather slowly in Vila Nova. Eight days have passed but only 240 soldiers have been confined. The forecast average was 150 to 200 soldiers a day. [passage omitted]

Troop Confinement at 'Standstill'

MB2811070495 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The confinement of soldiers is still at a standstill. After the symbolic beginning of the process in Tchikala-Tcholahanga, nothing or little was done until today. Of the 900 soldiers who were scheduled to be confined in six days, only 150 were confined. Moreover, the meeting by the government and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] delegations did not resume today because General Ben-Ben, chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces for

the Liberation of Angola, has not yet returned from his weekend trip to Bailundo. A government source says the two delegations are scheduled to discuss the integration of UNITA soldiers into the single army. The government's proposal was taken by UNITA negotiators to its leader Jonas Savimbi who on 25 November received the UN Angola Verification Mission-3 military commander and Gen. Ben-Ben. [passage omitted]

New UNITA Commander for Southern Huambo Named

*MB2411161995 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Brigadier Alberto Canhanga has been appointed commander of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces in southern Huambo Province. He replaces Brigadier Cerqueira Fundanga. [passage omitted]

Mozambique

Renamo Leader Says 'No Reason To Resume War'

*MB2511161895 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 25 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader Afonso Dhlakama reiterated in Montepuez and Namuno, Cabo Delgado Province, yesterday that there is no reason to resume war. Afonso Dhlakama said the main reason for war was to restore democracy, and that objective has been achieved. Addressing rallies in the two areas, the Renamo leader asked: Who will I fight against and for what? Afonso Dhlakama ends his visit to Cabo Delgado Province today and then will leave for Niassa Province.

Stresses Need for Early Elections

*MB2711185895 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 27 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Much attention is being paid to a possible postponement of the local elections initially scheduled for 1996. Though elections are in doubt, Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader Afonso Dhlakama has again noted the need for early elections. The Renamo leader stressed that this is not just his request, but that the Mozambican people as a whole are calling for early elections.

Dhlakama has arrived in Niassa Province. He told Radio Mozambique he found the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] government was not implementing its social and economic program in Cabo Delgado Province. Dhlakama explained that people are therefore calling for early elections.

The Renamo leader also said he was disappointed that Tanzanians are illegally exploiting Cabo Delgado Province's riches.

In addition, Dhlakama said the administrators do not carry out state duties, but rather represent the Frelimo Party and insult Renamo and other opposition parties. The Renamo leader also accused the governor of Cabo Delgado Province of toeing the Frelimo Party line rather than discharging his public duties.

Asked why his bodyguards continue to wear Renamo military uniforms, Dhlakama replied:

[Begin Dhlakama recording] My personal guard does not have a specific uniform. They still use the uniforms we used in the bush during the war. This is their right and they use those uniforms even in Maputo. What is more, this was written into the General Peace Accord, so it is no violation of the Constitution; in fact, it is quite legal.

Everybody knows that President Dhlakama has an escort. I left Maputo by car. I asked the Republic of Mozambique Police, PRM, to escort me to Beira. They refused, but my personal guard escorted me up to Beira. They continue to do escort work. [passage omitted]

Soon, these men will undergo training in Maputo so they can serve the Interior Ministry and become PRM agents. Everything they are doing is quite legal. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Police Chief Opposes Renamo Police Bodyguards

*MB2411155595 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Interior Ministry does not like the idea that former Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] guerrillas who join the police force can then go back as bodyguards for Renamo leaders. In an interview with our reporters, General Bededito Gino Cocassa, chief of staff of the Police General Command, said when citizens join the police they no longer represent party interests.

[Begin Cocassa recording] Whenever a citizen joins the police force he no longer belongs to any political party. He is a member of the Mozambique Police and is assigned to any police mission. [end recording]

Renamo wants its former guerrillas to join the police force so they can protect [Renamo leader] Afonso Dhlakama's party officials. On 21 November, the names of 152 Renamo soldiers were delivered to the Police General Command chief of staff. The Interior Ministry says those soldiers may join the police but does not like the idea of them working for Renamo officials.

[Begin recording] [Cocassa] We will protect Renamo leaders in the same way we protect government officials. Now, we cannot train policemen merely to protect Renamo officials.

[Unidentified correspondent] And what is Renamo's position on the issue?

[Cocassa] They have not yet said anything and they have not yet handed over the letter we requested, so the issue is pending. [end recording]

Gen. Cocassa showed our correspondents the Renamo list with the 152 names. However, the letter was not signed and had no Renamo stamp. Meetings between the Interior Ministry and Renamo aimed at integrating former guerrillas in the police force began in June 1994.

Finance Minister Affirms Need for IMF Program

MB2711201795 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government was under fire in another session of questions and answers in Parliament today. Planning and Finance Minister Tomas Salomao presented to Parliament what he described as bare, clean, and transparent information so that deputies could understand the relationship between Mozambique and the IMF.

The planning and finance minister said that the prescriptions of the structural readjustment programs are neither easy nor simple. They are complex, but there is a need for a continued relationship with an institution such as the IMF, he said. Tomas Salomao was answering ques-

tions by Assembly of the Republic's deputies, including some on the relationship between the Mozambican Government and the IMF.

[Begin Salomao recording] I am not here to make a speech about any particular issue. The government believes it is important to present to this august assembly the situation as we face it when we negotiate with the IMF — bare, clean, and transparent — so that the honorable deputies can understand the true relationship between our country and the IMF, which we believe to be an important institution. In so doing, the honorable deputies will not only be able to ask questions but also advise us on how to deal with some issues in our relationship with this institution. [applause]

I believe the questions of the honorable deputies deal with the measures and position we must adopt so that Mozambique can, in the short term, continue to have the international financial market's confidence. This being the case, we shall continue our negotiations with the IMF. Who will gain? Probably in the short term, we will not gain much, but what we want in the medium- and long-term is the sustainable development of our country, which, as we all know, has potential.

The structural readjustment program is more or less painful, depending on our point of departure. Our point of departure is extremely low. Our point of departure — although the figures are less clear — is the point of departure of a country, which in 1980-83 had a per capita national product of \$250 but today has a per capita national product of \$90. We have to accept this reality. This is the reality that we face and that we need to change. [end recording]

Cote d'Ivoire

Legislative Elections Proceed 'Smoothly'

AB2611195095 *Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French*
1900 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The legislative election went smoothly in Abidjan and in the interior of the country. Ivorians calmly performed their civic duty throughout the national territory. Twenty-seven parties presented 654 candidates to conquer 172 seats in parliament. [passage omitted]

Polling stations opened at 0800 this morning throughout the national territory and just closed down about an hour ago [1800 GMT]. [passage omitted]

Results Give Ruling Party 145 Seats

AB2711212095 *Abidjan La Chaine Une Television Network in French* 2000 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We return to the legislative elections with this latest news item which has reached us from the Ministry of Interior. We now have the results from Soubre and Grand Zaty. The Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire [PDCI] candidate has won the election there. Minister Zadi Zaourou, the Union of Social Democrats candidate was beaten, thus changing the results. The PDCI now has 145 seats instead of the 144 that we announced a short while ago. The PDCI now has 145 seats. The total number of seats so far counted is 166 [figure as heard]. The results from three constituencies have not yet been received. Here are other explanations concerning the three constituencies. They come from the Ministry of Interior.

The results from Adzope subprefecture will not be known soon because a presiding officer at a polling station broke a ballot box and took to his heels. The difference in votes between the two leading candidates was 60. The polling station, whose ballot box was broken, had 402 registered voters; the results could therefore be in favor of one or the other. The electoral officer has therefore decided to delay the proclamation of the results and has transmitted all documents to the Constitutional Council for the final decision.

At Abobo, out of 560 polling stations, there are still almost 100 to be counted. The reason for this delay is that the two Republican Front candidates have systematically blocked the counting operations. However, the officials of the counting commission hope to end their work late this night. Thus, they will be able to proclaim the results from Abobo tomorrow morning.

The same scenario is taking place in Yopougon: The counting operation was blocked by the Ivorian Popular

Front candidate. However, the counting operation is more advanced there than at Abobo, and the results may be made known this very night at around 2200.

Two Opposition Leaders Excluded From Elections

AB1711221695 *Paris AFP in French*
1933 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Abidjan, 17 Nov (AFP) — According to an official document published in Abidjan today, the two main Ivorian opposition leaders, Laurent Gbagbo and Djeny Kobina, have been excluded de facto from the 26 November legislative election.

In this document, which was drawn up by the Ministry of Interior and which presents the list of candidates in the legislative elections, three constituencies in the west of the country are excluded, notably those of Ouragahio where Mr. Gbagbo, secretary general of the Ivorian Popular Front, is a candidate.

In these three constituencies, interethnic clashes between members of the Bete ethnic group to which Mr. Gbagbo belongs, and members of the Baoule ethnic group to which President Bedie belongs, left 25 dead during the presidential campaign for the 22 October presidential election that was boycotted by the main opposition parties. On 7 November, Interior Minister Emile Bombet warned that there will be no voting in the region "if social peace is not restored there," and "if voters are not in a condition to go to the polls." He said "if peace is restored there, by-elections will be held."

No official explanations were given early this evening for the exclusion from the elections of Mr. Kobina, secretary general of the centrist Rally of the Republicans, who is his party's candidate in Adjame District in the north of Abidjan. This morning, Mr. Kobina was also questioned for two hours by the police, who, according to him, asked for proof of his nationality. According to sources close to the candidates' registration commission, Mr. Kobina did not present a nationality certificate in his candidacy file.

A total of almost 600 candidates, independent or designated by 26 parties, will be running in the legislative election that is scheduled to take place on 26 November, and which will give people the opportunity to vote for 172 parliamentarians out of the 175 that constitute the National Assembly.

Editorial Views Delays in Installing Democracy

AB2011201295 Abidjan LE JOUR in French
20 Nov 95 pp 1,3

[Editorial by Diegou Bailly: "Delayed Democracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Instead of the temperate democracy President Henri Konan Bedie promised Ivoirians right from the time he obtained legitimacy through universal suffrage, the only thing he has delivered in his recent decisions is ersatz democracy. This puts Cote d'Ivoire on a par with Zambia in the quest for the title of the most ridiculous countries in the Guinness Book of Records. How could anyone even imagine that Kenneth Kaunda, who led Zambia for nearly 20 years was not a national of that country? How could anyone claim that Djeny Kobina is no longer "Ivorian?" How could anyone believe such an aberration without covering the Ivorian State and its institutions with ridicule?

Djeny Kobina, who is 58 years old, was a former history and geography teacher in several Ivorian secondary schools and a former National Union of Secondary School Teachers of Cote d'Ivoire secretary general. He was enrolled in the Ivorian Army in 1970 and was a former permanent undersecretary general for the internal security and communication ministers. He was formerly a Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA] political bureau member, as well as a former PDCI-RDA national secretary in charge of relations with other parties. He was the unfortunate candidate in the 1990 parliamentary elections in the Cocody District. Who can make several generations of Ivoirians taught by this teacher — whose salary was paid for a long time by the Ivorian Treasury and who continues to receive pension allocations from the Ivorian Treasury — believe that their former teacher is no longer "Ivorian?" It is difficult, very difficult, indeed, to be "Ivorian" under these circumstances!

In any case, all Ivoirians can now begin to cast doubt on everything around them — their Ivorianness and their very existence — because no one can tell what the current government has in store for them. How could anyone even begin to think that Djeny Kobina is no longer "Ivorian" without thinking that the Ivorian State itself has become amnesic? This State, hit by the Alzheimer's syndrome, repudiates its past and lays down laws just for the present at the whims of its leaders. It pays no attention to the immediate interest of the people or that of future generations. It uses the pro-Bedie legal mechanism as an instrument for perpetuating the established order, reduces its opponents to silence, and holds them up to ridicule, while waiting to break them physically or morally. The amnesic State is a Machiavellian State, where "only the end

justifies the means." It is a state where everything is oversimplified, where all those who dare contest the established order are condemned and held up to public disgrace. It is a witch-hunting state, where any obstacle to the rule of the "same line of thinking" is systematically crushed instead of being circumvented or even checked.

Following the humiliation inflicted on Bamba Morifere, leader of the Party for Progress and Socialism, and the moral downfall of Djeny Kobina, how can anyone be surprised at the decision of Minister Emile Constant Bombet, the secular arm of the Bedie regime, to postpone parliamentary elections in Ouragahio, the constituency of Laurent Gbagbo, Ivorian Popular Front secretary general? All these factors reinforce the idea that in Cote d'Ivoire not only has the state been hit by the Alzheimer's syndrome, but democracy too has been hampered by negligent and uncultured leaders.

In fact, any government, just like those of Cote d'Ivoire, Zambia, Nigeria... which is waging a daily struggle for survival and tries to oppose the inexorable course of history, is a government that is frightened. It is scared of anything that moves and thinks. It is scared of the past and the future. Such a government can only delay democracy and not build temperate democracy.

Ghana**Butrus-Ghali Arrives 26 Nov on 4-Day Visit**

AB2711095195 Accra Ghana Broadcasting
Corporation Radio Network in English
0600 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The UN secretary general, Dr. Butrus-Ghali, arrived in Accra last night on a four-day official visit to Ghana. Dr. Butrus-Ghali was met on arrival by a high-powered government welcoming party led by the special adviser on governmental affairs, Mr. P.V. Obeng, and representatives of UN agencies in the country. Some members of the diplomatic corps were also there. Our airport correspondent, George Ankrah, reports:

[Begin recording] [Ankrah] Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali told newsmen that he is in the country to reinforce the relationship between Ghana and the United Nations and to express his gratitude to President Jerry John Rawlings for his role in the Liberian peace initiative. He would also discuss with his UN colleagues in Ghana and government officials how to maintain the momentum of the Liberian peace process leading to disarmament, demobilization of the combatants, and elections.

On lack of commitment of the United Nations to African crises compared with the response to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Butrus-Ghali, agreed that the UN is a

political organization. He explained that the United Nations has to lobby for international support to intervene in such crises. Dr. Butrus-Ghali said he tried to obtain the assistance of African countries to intervene and participate in the Rwandan crisis to save the situation, but such assistance did not readily come, and that is why the UN has set up the international tribunal in that country to try those who committed the massacre.

[Butrus-Ghali] My role as secretary general is [to do] as much as I can to defend the interests of all the countries, but among them the countries who need the greater attention are indeed the African countries. I have tried to obtain the assistance of African countries and non-African countries to reinforce the presence of the United Nations in Rwanda, and I have not been successful, because the decision was not my decision. It was the decision of the member states. I have done the maximum to obtain the participation and the support of the international community so that we will be able to save the situation in Rwanda.

[Ankrah] I asked the UN boss how he could reconcile the World Bank and IMF policy of retrenchment as a condition for granting loans to African governments to the United Nations' agenda of world development and peace.

[Butrus-Ghali] The World Bank, the IMF, [and] the UNESCO are independent organizations, but we have a meeting twice a year to reinforce the cooperation among the different agencies. And, I have regular meetings with the director of the bank, the director of the IMF, the director of the new commercial agency to reinforce the cooperation, and we have adopted during the last meeting with the different agencies a new plan of action to reinforce the cooperation between the United Nations and Africa.

[Ankrah] While in the country, Dr. Butrus-Ghali and his entourage would hold joint discussions with government officials led by Mr. P.V. Obeng on a wide range of regional issues including the role of the UN in maintaining democracy in Liberia. He would also meet the speaker of Parliament, Mr. Justice D.F. Annan, visit the Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum, and meet GUNA [Ghana United Nations Association], GUNSA [Ghana United Nations Student Association], and other UN-related nongovernmental organizations at the Accra International Conference Center. [end recording]

Holds 'Closed-Door' Talks

AB2711194095 Accra Ghana Broadcasting
Corporation Radio Network in English
1300 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A Ghana Government delegation led by the presidential adviser on governmental affairs, Mr. P.V. Obeng, today began closed-door discussions with the UN secretary general, Dr. Butrus-Ghali, at the International Conference Center in Accra. Before meeting, Mr. Obeng thanked Dr. Butrus-Ghali for his personal efforts in bringing the world's attention to the Liberian problem. Justice Mingle brings you the details:

[Begin recording] [Mingle] Sources close to the meeting told newsmen that the talks are likely to focus on international and bilateral issues, especially the Liberian crisis. Mr. P.V. Obeng, who is leading the 12-man Ghana Government delegation, described Dr. Butrus-Ghali's visit to the country as a personal show of solidarity with the Government and people of Ghana. The last time a UN secretary general visited Ghana was in 1988. That was during the tenure of office of Mr. Perez de Cuellar. Mr. Obeng also commended Dr. Butrus-Ghali on his concern to [as heard] the Liberian problem:

[Obeng] We were in the initial stages rather disappointed as the Liberian situation was not receiving the kind and level of attention that others elsewhere had received in spite of the fact that perhaps the carnage in Liberia was much higher in terms of human toll than that which we have experienced elsewhere. But with your rich diplomacy, and with the difficult position — you, an African yourself — that you have, you applied your own diplomatic skills to gradually turn the attention of the UN system to this crisis, and your co-chairmanship at the event in New York — and we had the pleasure of being there — where you launched the special appeal to support ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], and to support rehabilitation, and the restoration of normalcy in Liberia. [sentence as heard]

[Mingle] Dr. Butrus-Ghali for his part, said he is in the country to thank the president, Flight Lieutenant Rawlings, for his personal participation in the 50th anniversary celebration of the United Nations. He thanked the Ghana Government for its efforts at finding a solution to the Liberian crisis. He said the United Nations has so far obtained pledges amounting to \$145 million toward the cause of Liberia:

[Butrus-Ghali] I have to thank President Rawlings for attending the 50th anniversary celebration. It was a support for the United Nations. As you know, because

of the financial crisis, the United Nations is passing a difficult period, so we need the support of all the member states, and among them the support of the African states because the secretary general belongs to this region. But the presence of President Rawlings and his personal participation were very important. Also, as you mentioned, Your Excellency, the personal participation of President Rawlings in the conference on assistance to Liberia — this conference was held in New York on 27 October — was very important, because through his presence, we have been able to obtain pledges for an amount of \$145 million.

[Mingle] Dr. Butrus-Ghali had earlier in the day laid a wreath at the Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum in Accra in remembrance of Ghana's first president Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. He described Dr. Nkrumah as a great African leader whom he knew personally, and who would be remembered for generations. Dr. Butrus-Ghali said his visit to Ghana is a pilgrimage to the land from where African freedom was fought. He said despite the marginalization of Africa by the international community, Africans must not forget their leaders who fought for their independence. To mark the visit, the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Dr. Mohamed ibn Chambas, on behalf of the president and people of Ghana, presented a statuette of an African blowing a horn to the secretary general. [end recording]

Backs Economic Revival Efforts

AB2711214295 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English
1800 GMT 27 Nov 95

[From the "News Program" presented by Mercy Sowah]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The UN secretary general, Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali, has expressed support for Ghana's economic recovery efforts and pledged the assistance of the United Nations to ensure that the program stays on course. This was the outcome of closed-door discussions held in Accra today between the Ghana Government delegation, led by the presidential adviser on governmental affairs, Mr. P.V. Obeng, and the UN secretary general.

The deputy minister of information, Mr. Kojo Yankah, who briefed newsmen on the discussions, said the United Nations also promised to assist in ensuring a speedy return of Liberia to democracy. This report is by Justice Mingle:

[Begin recording] [Mingle] According to Mr. Yankah, the discussion centered mainly on Ghana's economic recovery efforts and the Liberian peace process. On Ghana's economic recovery program, Mr. Yankah said the government delegation briefed the UN secretary

general on efforts the government is making to check inflation and the further erosion of the value of the cedi. According to him, efforts Ghana is making to improve upon her export position and to attract local and international investments were also laid bare.

Dr. Butrus-Ghali, Mr. Yankah said, praised Ghana for her efforts and pledged the UN's assistance to ensure that Ghana's economic recovery efforts stay on course, and that the success story of Ghana continues to be a beacon for other African countries.

On Liberia, Mr. Yankah said Dr. Butrus-Ghali was briefed on efforts being made to implement the Abuja peace accord on Liberia. The deputy minister said the delegation highlighted difficulties Ghana is encountering in her position as chairman of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] and the principal actor in the Liberian peace process. He touched on efforts to hold elections in the war-torn country.

[Yankah] As I said, Liberia was the central issue — the peace process in general — but at the end of the day it was more toward ensuring that by August next year everything would be put in place for the elections to be possible. You know, there should be a deadline by the end of January at which the disarmament, or disarming, you know, of the contending forces would have taken place. The processes leading to that were also discussed, and the difficulties also examined, and that's why I said Ghana... [pauses] bears the problems that concerned not only Ghana but also the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] in dealing with the process of disarming the people; and, of course, the critical issue of Nigeria was also slightly mentioned.

[Mingle] On the question of refugees, Mr. Yankah said the Ghana Government delegation expressed concern at the reduction of support for refugees, and problems being encountered in their maintenance. [end recording]

Paul Adjete Dzane was at the luncheon held in honor of the UN secretary general, at which Ghana asked the world body to consider increasing its assistance to subregional bodies such as ECOWAS in their efforts at conflict prevention, management, and resolution on the continent. This is because these bodies are often closer, and are more in touch with potential and actual conflict situations. The appeal was made by the presidential adviser on governmental affairs, Mr. P.V. Obeng, to the UN secretary general as you will hear in this report:

[Begin Dzane recording] Ghana's commitment to the United Nations and its goals and purposes found expression in the fact that one of its first acts as a sovereign state was to seek UN membership on 8 March 1957. So, in the words of Mr. P.V. Obeng, Ghana views the United

Nations as an indispensable arrangement for the international community. The United Nations, he said, should not be blamed for its failures which, he explained, are only a reflection of member states' lack of political will or the absence of moral courage.

Mr. Obeng said Ghana recognizes the diverse efforts that have been made within the United Nations to address the debt burdens of developing countries and the problems of underdevelopment. He said Africa is becoming more and more conscious of the international community's failure to match pious rhetorics and loud expressions of concern about events in Africa with specific and tangible support to actually improve the situation on the ground. Mr. Obeng welcomed the UN's efforts to consolidate peace in Africa.

Dr. Butrus-Ghali, for his part, said events in recent years in several parts of the world have shown how the brutality of man to man only aggravates the dangers of economic deprivation and natural disasters. He said Africa, as if by fate or design and prone to the vagaries of nature, is a continent more than any other which requires a spell of sustained peace to get back on its feet. He said solutions to global problems demand a democratic channeling of energies and the pooling of resources, adding that if solutions are sought for only a few at the cost of the marginalized many, a true universal human order will not be possible to realize. [end recording]

Papers on Execution of Nigerian Activists

AB1711174095 Accra Ghana Broadcasting
Corporation Radio Network in English
1300 GMT 17 Nov 95

[From the Press Review]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] [passage omitted] On the Commonwealth action against Nigeria, THE DAILY PALAVER says the Nigerian authorities reserve the right to punish their nationals in accordance with the laws of the land. The paper is, however, at a loss as to why the authorities did not heed such pleas as in the case of General Obasanjo and others [words indistinct] in defiance of both friends and sister African countries, and Nigeria today stands an outcast in the comity of nations.

THE PALAVER says the only thing that can save her now is to abide by the Commonwealth's timetable, and cooperate with the eight-member ministerial committee to monitor the political situation in that country. The paper also considers it worthwhile to reflect on President Rawlings' appeal to the international community to assist African countries to get out of the many problems that [have] bedeviled them for decades.

Considering the Nigerian situation from another perspective, THE FREE PRESS says the Nigerian military leaders' blunder was a case of crude irony (?given) Nigeria's involvement in the military intervention in the conflict in Liberia. The question now is: What business has the Nigerian leader in the Liberian conflict if he had set himself on the very path that the late President Doe took to plunge Liberia into a civil war?

Economic Cooperation With Libya To Increase

AB2111223795 Accra Ghana Broadcasting
Corporation Radio Network in English
1800 GMT 21 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ghana and Libya have agreed on broad cooperation in various sectors of economic, scientific, educational, and cultural activity to enhance relations between the two countries. They decided to eliminate all obstacles that had hitherto hampered the effective implementation of such cooperation. This is the outcome of the seventh session of the Ghana-Libya permanent joint commission for cooperation in the Libyan capital, Tripoli. Ghana's 15-member delegation to the session was led by a member of the Council of State, Captain Kojo Tsikata, while Libya's director of the Africa Foreign Liaison Bureau and International Cooperation, Mr. (Salem Saidi), led his country's team.

A communique, issued at the end of the three-day session, identified priority areas of economic cooperation for immediate action as joint ventureship in energy, mine exploration, and fishing in Ghanaian waters, particularly for tuna. Others are import-export trade and measures for effective financial transactions between the two countries. Libya confirmed her desire to import from Ghana 400 tons of dried virginia tobacco strips, 1,000 tons of aluminum-alloyed coils for the manufacture of blades, furniture, lumber, round logs, and plywood and veneer. She also wants fresh and processed agricultural products.

On outstanding loans, the two sides agreed to link official debts owed by Ghana to Libya in respect of oil liftemts [as heard] and project financing to private commercial debts owed by Libya to Ghanaian companies as official debts to be settled through a special account between their central banks.

An official Libyan economic delegation is to visit Ghana next month to finalize with Ghanaian officials arrangements for these payments.

To facilitate financial transactions between both countries, it was agreed that Libya examine the feasibility of establishing a joint Ghana-Libya commercial bank or for Libya to buy shares in any Ghanaian commercial bank or other companies on divestiture.

A cultural agreement program between them which expires next month was renewed and extended for two years ending in 1997.

A Libyan team is expected in Ghana early next year to discuss its implementation.

Resolution Issued at Energy Ministers Conference

AB2311113595 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 0600 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The ministerial session of the first conference of African ministers responsible for the development and utilization of mineral resources and energy has ended in Accra. Addressing the closing session, a member of the Council of State, Nana Kojo Esuantse, called on African countries to develop new and renewable energy resources as this will enable them to alleviate poverty in their communities and increase productivity.

He urged African scientists and leaders to accelerate research and development to harness the vast hydro-power and solar energy resources of the continent for socio-economic development. Nana Esuantse said to achieve this, African scientists and their leaders must cooperate in the formulation of policies, strategies, and programs.

A resource person, Dr. Maxwell Safo, said that Africa is endowed with large reserves of minerals and these must be exploited to improve the living conditions of people. He said environmental issues associated with the exploitation of both energy and mineral resources should be systematically addressed.

In a resolution, delegates charged African states to encourage sectoral reforms to allow their energy institutions greater autonomy in order to make them competitive. They also called for the pursuance of subregional and regional cooperation and interconnections of their systems wherever viable.

Nigeria

Army Chief Diya on International 'Face-Off'

AB2711221095 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The chief of general staff, Lieutenant General Oladipo Diya, has appealed to the international community to change its attitude toward Nigeria since the Ogoni nine were not executed for environmental or minority rights struggle. He reiterated that appeal case of murder was established against them by a legally constituted tribunal. Gen. Diya was speaking at a meeting with media executives in

Abuja today. State House correspondent Mohamed Labo reports:

[Begin recording] [Labo] Gen. Diya said it is not the desire of Nigeria to engage itself in a face-off with the international community. He remarked that the purported breach of the Harare Declaration that led to the country's suspension from the Commonwealth was a cover up to carry out a premeditated action.

[Diya] From all indications, the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth was the result of conspiracy hatched in certain quarters. As incontrovertibly stated by other spokesmen before me, this conspiracy was evident, even from the biased reporting of events about Nigeria in influential media, which for some considerable length of time, has persistently tried to portray Nigeria in the worst of lights but the world, unfortunately has only referred all the time on a tissue of false or grossly distorted reports about our country. [sentence as heard]

Invariably, if Nigeria is not labelled as a nation of international drug peddlers by the hostile media, which conveniently ignores our bold antidrug trafficking measures, our airports are declared as unsafe despite several measures taken by government to improve relevant facilities. As if that was not enough — negative publicity — the special section of the international media subsequently added the refrain of unsubstantiated allegations of human rights violations against Nigeria which, like the proverbial dog, must be given a bad name in order to hang it.

[Labo] He said it was hasty of some Western countries to call for or impose sanctions on Nigeria since the government did not do anything to stifle the rights of the citizens. Gen. Diya also criticized President Mandela for degenerating to name calling, and added that by his action, Mr. Mandela is posing a potential threat to African unity.

The chief of general staff restated the administration's commitment to return the country to civil rule by strictly adhering to its program. He appealed for the support of the international community instead of antagonizing the country.

Foreign Affairs Minister Chief Tom Ikimi briefed the media executives as he did the traditional rulers last week. He said for two years now, there has been a consistent campaign against Nigeria despite all efforts of the government to tackle those problems that tend to tarnish the image of the country. He wondered why the United States did not react when drug suspects were tried by a tribunal.

The administrator of Rivers State, Lieutenant Colonel Dauda Komo, also briefed the media executives, and gave out documents on MOSOP [Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People], and the trial of the executed murderers. He said the team that investigated the murders was a neutral one from Lagos, and not from Port Harcourt. He advised the press to live up to its responsibility by being fair in the discharge of its duty.

There were several comments from the media executives. Quite a number of the executives blamed the government for improper information management. [end recording]

Wants Mandela 'Reined In'

MB2811065095 *Johannesburg SAfm Radio Network in English 0500 GMT 28 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Nigerian Government says it is not seeking confrontation with South Africa, but that President Mandela should be reined in. This was said by the Nigerian military government's second in command, General Oladipo Diya, in reaction to criticism by President Mandela of Nigerian military leader Sani Abacha. The president was quoted by a Sunday newspaper as saying that General Abacha ran a barbaric, corrupt, irresponsible, and arrogant dictatorship.

Urges Dialogue With South Africa

AB2811083795 *Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 28 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nigeria says it will not engage in diplomatic confrontation with South Africa over that country's present unfriendly posture against it. The chief of general staff, Lieutenant General Oladipo Diya, stated this yesterday in Abuja at a meeting with media executives. Gen. Diya said the government would approach Nigeria-South Africa relations with care and maturity despite the role played by President Nelson Mandela in the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth. He stated that the Federal Government had expected President Mandela to obtain clarifications on events in Nigeria before backing the suspension. Gen. Diya said that the present row between the two countries could only be resolved through dialogue. He advised Dr. Mandela to exercise restraint in his approach to the matter.

'Tactical Blunders' With Executions Admitted

AB2811111095 *Paris AFP in French 0921 GMT 28 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Lagos, 28 Nov (AFP) — A top official of the military government, quoted by the

Nigerian media today, has admitted for the first time that the Government committed a "tactical blunder" by ordering the hanging of eight [figure as received] Ogoni opponents prior to the opening of the Commonwealth summit.

"If you say that a few tactical blunders were committed in the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the others (eight Ogoni activists) (...), I agree entirely with you," Information Minister Walter Ofonagoro told newsmen. "The execution was ill-timed and made it possible for the heads of state who were gathering for the conference to gang up against Nigeria," stressed Mr. Ofonagoro, whose statements were published on the first pages of independent dailies, THE VANGUARD, THE GUARDIAN, and the NIGERIAN TRIBUNE.

News of the execution of government opponent Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight companions of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People broke just as the summit of the Commonwealth, to which Nigeria belongs, was opening in Auckland, New Zealand. Summit participants, shocked by these executions, decided on the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth and fixed a two-year time frame for it to restore democracy or face expulsion from the organization.

Military Governor Defends Saro-Wiwa Execution

MS2711120095 *London THE GUARDIAN in English 27 Nov 95 p 1*

[Report by Chris McGreal, including 'exclusive' interview with Colonel Dauda Musa Komo, military governor of Rivers State in Nigeria: "Nigeria's Hangman Defends His Country's Honour"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Port Harcourt — Dauda Musa Komo, the military governor of Rivers State in Nigeria, which encompasses Ogoniland, prefers his bowler hat and traditional dress to the uniform and braid to which his rank as an army colonel entitles him.

Col Komo also begs to differ when it comes to international condemnation of his state's "Civil Disturbance Tribunal" which sent Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists to the gallows earlier this month. It was Col Komo who directed the executions — reportedly badly bungled — and was responsible for disposing of the bodies.

Saro-Wiwa was one of "a handful of international comen who successfully manipulated their own kith and kin," Col Komo states flatly. "Above all, sadly with the connivance of the international media, they have manipulated international opinion."

With at least 19 more Ogonis facing execution on murder charges, Col Komo vows that the cases will continue

to be heard by the special, non-jury tribunals despite their condemnation as kangaroo courts by international human rights organisations and legal experts.

He said the current situation in Ogoniland justified the bypassing of regular civilian courts and the appeals process as an emergency measure to stamp out unrest.

Col Komo argued that it was not until Saro-Wiwa's trial that the international community voiced criticism of the tribunals.

"So what is so unique? I don't see now what is the exception or why there is something wrong with it. This is part of Nigerian law. Every country applies the law based on the special circumstances that are prevalent," Col Komo said.

"You know we have the same tribunal to try drug traffickers? Those tribunals have the death penalty as well. Strangely enough, among the same western democracies and those now telling us about international law and processes, that tribunal has met the international standards because it is serving western interests."

The tribunals, comprising two civilian judges and an army officer experienced in law, were set up by military decree eight years ago. Appeals can be made only to the country's military dictator, General Sani Abacha, and his ruling council.

A separate decree permits similar trials for violent criminals. Hundreds of those convicted have been machine-gunned to death.

Nigerian human rights groups condemned the speed of the Saro-Wiwa group's executions only 10 days after conviction, and after Gen Abacha's ruling council spent only four hours reviewing the details of a nine-month-long trial.

Lawyers also point out that the extent of the Nigerian government's commitment to due process can be seen in Gen Abacha's decrees exempting his regime from accountability to the courts.

Col Komo, like his boss, appears genuinely baffled by international reaction to the Ogoni executions.

"Those who fall foul of our laws normally try to hide behind human rights abuse to try to malign our government for taking action," Col Komo said. "I can assure you that judging by any standard especially African standards, even European countries, I don't think any of them can boast of any better human rights record than us here in Nigeria."

"Take the situation of the British and the Northern Ireland crisis. We have access to a lot of the material and methods used there by the British forces. We have

not used even one hundredth of those techniques here in Nigeria in ensuring law and order are brought under control in Ogoniland."

Saro-Wiwa and the other hanged Ogonis were buried in Port Harcourt's public graveyard. The police have since prevented anyone visiting it — including the families.

The colonel says he wants to prevent the bodies being used to whip up unrest. He denies press reports that acid was poured on the corpses to dispose of them more quickly.

"We know we are dealing with people with no respect for the truth or respected values. We were good enough to preserve the bodies. We buried them in coffins," he said.

'Crisis Cell' Set Up 'To Woo Back' West

AB2811120195 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
0730 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Nigerian leaders have launched a campaign to woo back Western countries. The Abuja military regime has set up a crisis cell made up of some former heads of state. Their mission is to get the Western capitals to return to a better frame of mind following the crisis that arose after the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists. Tunde Fatunde reports from Lagos:

[Begin Fatunde recording] Chaired by General Jeremiah Useni, minister of the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja, this cell is essentially composed of former heads of state — Shehu Shagari, Ernest Shonekan, and Yakubu Gowon. They have been mandated to contact political personalities and businessmen in many Western capitals and to put pressure on those countries who have pledged to take measures against Nigeria as a result of its violation of human rights.

It should be pointed out that these former heads of state will find their mission difficult since they will be unable to obtain visas to the countries concerned following the embargo on visas to personalities close to the ruling junta. The same sources have disclosed that General Gowon, who succeeded in preserving Nigeria's territorial integrity after the Biafra secessionist war, reportedly blamed Gen. Sani Abacha for having ordered the hanging of Saro-Wiwa, who was the first chairman of the Port Harcourt local government and one of the closest associates of Gen. Gowon.

Meanwhile, there are two sour notes in the composition of this crisis cell. First, Gen. Buhari is said to have refused to participate because of serious differences he has with Gen. Abacha over the distribution of oil

wealth. Second, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, who annulled the presidential election of 12 June 1993, was not invited at all to participate because of his unpopularity both nationally and internationally. [end recording]

Mood in Ogoniland Described as 'Peaceful'

AB2711223095 *Lagos NTA Television Network in English* 2000 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Reports from Rivers State indicate that the people of Ogoniland have continued to be peaceful and law-abiding. NTA Port Harcourt correspondent Dagogo Isaac reports that in most of the communities the people are going about their normal business:

[Begin Isaac recording] In Gogona Local Government area, the markets were bustling, and shops and craftsmen were doing their business. Although at the time our crew arrived at St. Pius College Gbodun, the hometown of late Chief Edward Kobani, the school had closed for the day. A few students were still in the compound; and in Yageh, students of the community secondary school, Yageh, were returning home in large numbers. From Yageh, our crew visited Bori, headquarters of Kana Local Government area and the commercial center of the Ogoni people. The motor park was full of travelers and transporters, motorcyclists, and cyclists.

Farming constitutes 80 percent of the Ogoni's means of livelihood, and farmers were busy working on their farms. At Keria and Nowa, in (?Tana) Local Government, the situation was the same. The crew had earlier visited Kpo, Mogo, Bera, and a number of other communities in Ogoniland. [end recording]

Stock Exchange Head Calls Sanctions 'Blessing'

AB2411180095 *Lagos VANGUARD in English* 22 Nov 95 p 3

[By Gbenga Olarinoye and Abdul Imoyo: "Sanctions, Blessing in Disguise"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The president of the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE) Mr. Paschal Dozie and the Nigerian Society of Engineers have described the current sanctions regime against the country as a "blessing in disguise".

Mr. Dozie in an interview in Lagos, said Nigeria is endowed with enough resources that will make it wade through the sanctions period unscathed.

According to him, "Nigeria is blessed with resources, we have also been resilient. We should not try to get even with those trying to sanction us because there is information mismatch and as such, Nigeria should speak less".

He advised the Federal Government to continue with the policy thrust of 1995 in the 1996 budget adding that "Nigeria would get out of the doldrum if efficient economic policy measures are put in place".

The NSE president expressed his displeasure over the current situation saying that "if we were economically stronger, we won't be treated the way we are being treated now: It is incumbent that we protect ourselves and our interests".

"Singapore", according to him, "once dared the United States of America because they were sure they have the economic power and were better off afterall". [passage omitted]

Northern Elders Hail Execution of Nine Ogonis

AB2411215695 *Lagos VANGUARD in English* 22 Nov 95 pp 1, 2

[Article by Omagbitse Jagha: "Execution of Ogoni 9 in Order — Northern Elders;" all quotation marks as published]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Northern Elders Forum (NEF) says execution of the Ogoni Nine is in order and believes that suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth on account of the hanging is high-handed, retrogressive and an indication of the demise of the Commonwealth.

In a statement in Kaduna on Tuesday [21 November], NEF stated "We are in support of the Federal Government in its action and condemn the action taken by the Commonwealth as being high-handed, retrogressive and may bring about the demise of the Commonwealth itself".

NEF was alarmed that "Nigeria with such track record in international affairs should be shabbily treated by the Commonwealth without seeking to know Nigeria's views and standpoint.

"It is the most damnable thing that ever happened to this country. In fact, by this action, the credibility of the Commonwealth is seriously called to question," NEF declared.

It noted, "the accepted condition and criteria for foreign intervention in the internal affairs of nations has been thrown overboard by the decision of the Commonwealth to suspend Nigeria's membership.

"It is sectional, unjust, and reckless the way the Western powers treat under-developed countries. There are countries whose diplomatic relations and human rights records are of the worst type but nothing has happened to them," NEF further noted.

NEF said it viewed "double standards with disdain. "Murder," it insisted, is "murder anywhere, no matter who commits it and is punishable by death in most countries."

For some people to condemn this by hiding under the cloak of human rights, pro-democracy or environmentalist is not tenable whatever any nation may say."

NEF reiterated that Nigeria has always shown commitment to the United Nations Charter as evidenced by its participation in peace-keeping operations and human, financial, material contributions. "It should be remembered that Nigeria was a pioneer in the crusade for the independence of several African countries."

POLICY Warns Country Faces Isolation

AB2511153295 Lagos POLICY in English 27 Nov 95 p 9

[From the "Leaders" column: "An Ill Wind?"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Whichever way one looks at it, the politics of hanging of the Ogoni Nine is getting uglier. Nigeria faces a grave possibility of isolation in the international community. Already, a few sanctions and threat of them are unsettling the government. The United States and Great Britain have imposed an arms embargo, more than 20 countries have recalled their ambassadors from Nigeria, while the European Union, EU, has slammed an arms embargo on the country. Assets of military officers in foreign countries stand the risk of being seized and Nigeria has been suspended from the Commonwealth. If Nelson Mandela's lobbying works, oil embargo will be imposed on Nigeria soon.

Is the scenario frightening? Nigeria's military leaders think it is not. Latching on the concept of sovereignty, the federal government ranking officers including General Sani Abacha and Oladipo Diya are managing to retain some confidence.

The world has become a global village. And national boundaries are becoming mere descriptive categories because what constitute barriers among nations are crumbling down fast. Today, racism is considered a heinous crime and ideologies that blindfold people's sense of judgement are giving way to new realism.

That may be why the hanging of the Ogoni Nine, in spite of all the diplomatic entreaties to spare their lives, is an embarrassing faux pax for Nigeria. It is doubtful whether majority of the world leaders, rights.

The situation at hand deserves a rational handling. The starting point is the Ogoniland. Already, the community is being suffocated with security personnel. It is an agonising experience for the people. The presence of

soldiers on most of the roads is a mental siege and this needs to be stepped down. Infact, an overwhelming presence of security operatives in Ogoniland has the tendency of sending a wrong signal that the people are not being protected but are being conquered.

Beyond Ogoniland, Abuja should think of doing something more serious than addressing pro-government rallies. For one, such rallies are unnecessary because it is hard to believe that a government can be celebrating, even for real criminals, the execution of its own citizens. And for another, organising such rallies is a waste of time and money. It is therefore important for the Abacha administration to sit up, and get the country out of this mess. the transition programme has already started on a jerk note. A military administration that is genuinely interested in handing over to a civilian government soon has no business in creating more hiccups. Hanging the Ogoni Nine is bad enough. Scuttling an early return to civil governance again will be an ill wind.

Urges Pursuit of Justice

AB2511142695 Lagos POLICY in English 27 Nov 95 p 9

[From the "Leaders" column: "World Against Nigeria"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Understandable apprehensions about possible economic sanctions from the western world is serving to concentrate the minds of many Nigerians. The world's outrage is forcing a docile civil society and its more acquiescent business class to rethink just one of the many aberrations that the country continues to endure.

Fearing what the implications of sanctions would be for the economy and individual companies, the stock market last week acknowledged, even if in passing, that these are no normal times. Businesses are finding that, yet again, inexplicable political developments will exact heavy tolls in lost opportunities, cancelled commitments and contracts, closed markets and a more ominous operating environment.

An immediate demonstration of this reality was the international finance Corporations's [IFC] withdrawal from the Liquefied Natural Gas project after years of negotiations had led to the virtual sealing of the deal. The project's remaining joint-venture partners are having to brave rising opprobrium in their home markets to go along with Nigeria.

Global repulsion has replaced the long-sought sympathetic view of the Nigerian economy by multilateral agencies, external creditors, donor nations and foreign investor.

Bilateral economic interests have been jeopardised by the recall of envoys by various countries. It is now farewell to the conclusion of discussion between the country and the international Monetary fund, IMF and the World Bank on a medium-term economic programme.

The world is now less willing to give Nigeria the benefit of doubt in both bilateral and multi-lateral undertakings. The IFC cited poor macro-economic policy performance by Nigeria as reason for pulling out of a project which [as published] development spills into the next decade. At different levels of international commercial involvement, Nigeria will meet with similar abrupt volte-face by erstwhile partners.

But few such distancing will be as far-reaching as measures currently being coordinated by South Africa's Nelson Mandela whose drawn-out faith in the Nigerian Government suddenly snapped. Nigerians find it hard to appreciate the poetic irony of South Africa's newly assumed role in resolving a perceived political debacle in Nigeria. It is however fitting that both countries are only too aware of the critical role economic interests can play in clarifying knotty political equations. On the surface, it would appear that as with South Africa then, so with Nigeria now.

But a growing body of opinion in Nigeria canvasses a traditional sympathetic reading of the Nigerian situation by the Mandela-prodded global coalition. Indeed, such a case can freely be made and assessed on its merit without the resort to a self-defeatist denigration of the core values that ennoble mankind.

Eventually, shared values and interests will bring Nigeria and the world to make peace with each other. As the government's current slogan goes, "it is not our character" to so unconscionably outrage the world.

In seeking such ultimate absolution, it behooves both the military government and the people of Nigeria to be solemnly consecrated to the pursuit of justice and human dignity for which the Ogoni Nine paid the supreme price.

TELL Presses Ogonis To 'Close Ranks'

AB2411201595 Lagos TELL in English 27 Nov 95
p 34

[Article by Dare Babarinsa: "The Lynching of Saro-Wiwa"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At last, Ken Saro-Wiwa, hero of the Ogoni, paid the supreme price for his deep love for his people. Saro-Wiwa was the poet of our collective pain and the great prophet of our possibilities. He saw Nigeria as a Noah's Ark of shared destinies where the

weak and strong, the wise and the foolish, the rich and the poor can live side by side. He believed that though his people were only 500,000 in a land of 100 million people, it was possible for them to get justice. He did not reckon with the viciousness of successful coup plotters.

I am sure, even in his great pain and humiliation, the irony of his end would not have been lost on Saro-Wiwa. This is the prince of harmony being led through the valley of death among mechanistic servants of the state. His hangmen, like all the running dogs of the new colonial masters, were only doing their duty. Nine men, including the cerebral writer Saro-Wiwa, were executed for their alleged roles in the murder of four prominent Ogoni sons.

Saro-Wiwa knew he could not expect justice from his accusers. After the brutal murder of the four Ogoni supporters of the ruling junta, Dauda Komo, the military administrator of Rivers State, said he was sure that the murderers were supporters of Saro-Wiwa and his Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People, MOSOP. He ordered Saro-Wiwa arrested as well as hundreds of Ogoni leaders. The entire Ogoniland was placed under a virtual interdiction.

The junta launched a two-pronged attack on the Ogoni people. One arm was the physical elimination of as many Ogoni leaders as possible. Another arm was the use of maximum terror. The instrument of maximum terror was Paul Okutimo, a sinister colonel who was soon to acquire universal notoriety for his bestiality. Okutimo and his troops were alleged by MOSOP and Campaign for Democracy, CD, to have murdered scores of Ogoni men, women and children. He burned down many villages and chased the people into the bush. At an infamous press conference in Port Harcourt, Okutimo boasted about his exploit and his ability to kill by 210 methods.

After Komo had pronounced Saro-Wiwa and his compatriots guilty of murder on television, the military authorities held them in harrowing captivity for many months. Mounting pressure all over the world finally persuaded the junta to announce that Saro-Wiwa would be put on trial for "murder." Instead of taking the Ogoni nationalists to normal court, the junta set up a kangaroo tribunal headed by Justice Ibrahimauta.

The proceedings at the Auta tribunal showed that the government was intent on lynching Saro-Wiwa and his colleagues. Auta was visibly hostile to the defence counsels until he frustrated them out of the trial. He was very close to the Government House in Port Harcourt and the Okutimo notorious gang. The aim of the tribunal, it became clear, was to be a willing instrument of vendetta and not of justice.

From experience, it is only when military juntas have a lynching to accomplish that they result [as published] to special tribunals. Not even the soldiers take such tribunals seriously, and they only want to use them for political ends.

General Sani Abacha was a leading member of the junta that overthrew the Second Republic and brought the draconian Major-General Muhammadu Buhari to power. Buhari's tribunals sentenced scores of politicians to an average of 200 years jail term each. Jim Nwobodo, Solomon Lar, Abubakar Rimi are just some of those convicted by Buhari's tribunals that Abacha had brought into his government. This is an indication of how much 'justice' Abacha believes can be obtained in Kangaroo special tribunals. He was a member of Buhari's Supreme Military Council that "unanimously" accepted many of those convictions. If Rimi and his colleagues had been sentenced to death by Buhari's kangaroo tribunal, would they have been available for Abacha to use later "to move the nation forward?" It was clear that the junta was thirsty for blood when Brigadier Victor Malu came charging like a cow on heat on national television, claiming that the Provisional Ruling Council, PRC, agreed "in totality" with the flawed judgement of Justice Auta. If the junta was actually after justice, it did not need to reach for the Auta Kangaroo court. In 1969, during the Agbekoya riot in the defunct Western State, some rioters had murdered Olajide Olayode II, the Soun of Ogbomoso and some of his chiefs. The government took the arrested suspects to court and some of them were later convicted and executed.

Why was the junta so much after Saro-Wiwa's blood? Saro-Wiwa represented a frontal challenge to the local colonialism that has become entrenched in Nigeria since the end of the gruesome civil war, though it dated back really to 1960. Along with fellow patriots like Isaac Adaka Boro, he had fought in the civil war on the side of Nigeria. Since then, he had grown increasingly concerned about the plight of the Ogoni people. Their oil-rich land has been turned into a blighted hell, the atmosphere polluted, the soil poisoned, the water unfit for fishing and human consumption. There are no roads, hospitals, nor electricity. The people are getting poorer while all the oil money goes to the new colonial masters. Saro-Wiwa decided to put his body in front of the machine of oppression.

The Ogoni challenge represents a real threat on two fronts to the new colonial masters. First is that it might serve as a "bad" example to other minorities in the oil-rich Niger Delta. Secondly, Saro-Wiwa was attempting to pull down the temple of ill-gotten wealth by members of successive juntas and their civilian collaborators. It is estimated that this group of people may have stolen

more than \$50 billion from the nation's oil wealth. Since Abacha's third successful coup d'etat in 1993, it is said that almost \$6 billion too may have been stolen.

History is patient and it would accord Saro-Wiwa and his fellow nationalists their rightful place. The execution of the valiant Saro-Wiwa and his colleagues is calculated to stun and permanently divide the Ogoni people in their struggle for justice and equity. They must close ranks and disappoint their foes. Their struggle would certainly define Nigeria's future. That future, despite the pretension to immortality by the man in dark glasses, would also settle scores with those who have hijacked apparatus of state to commit cold-blooded murder.

Urges Government Apology

AB2411182495 Lagos TELL in English 27 Nov 95
pp 8-9

[Editorial: "The Way Forward"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Today, the international system is abuzz, dramatically so, with condemnations and the rejection of Nigeria and its authoritarian regime by people and nations who were only yesterday our close friends, many of whom we had proudly shared strong, historic ties with. From one national capital to the other, there is an unprecedented global outrage, much of it deserved, against the recent hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa, renowned writer and Ogoni minority rights campaigner, and eight other kinsmen of his. By that very act, the world sees the General Sani Abacha junta much in the light of a yahoo, much in the light of a regime with sensibilities as pristinely unrefined as those of ruling brutes of the Stone Age. In other words, with just some five years to the 21st century, the world sees us as a sad anachronism rudely thrusting itself on the delicate, collective conscience and morals of our time. No matter how anyone, even a visitor from outer space, may see it, Nigeria is today a pariah state, isolated, poor and looking very small.

Unfortunately, the world is not over-reacting. The hanging of the Ogoni 9 must be the greatest show of insensitivity by the Abacha junta to minority and human rights, if it were not already regarded as the greatest political blunder in all the 35 years of Nigeria's history as an independent nation. It refuses to recognise the high ground, in terms of principle, morals, and of course the inalienable rights of man, on which the Ogoni struggle, which Saro-Wiwa championed, is being fought. It rides brutally against settled convictions such as equality and equity in a federation where no groups ought to have claims or pretensions to colonial suzerainty. This is besides the fact that the trial was so badly flawed that

it was its own celebrated justification of allegations of judicial murder and of a hidden agenda of genocide against a small people just seeking redress from their oppressive tormentors. How else could it have been unflawed when men charged with murder arising from ethnic civil disturbances (in which the ruling junta has interest) were tried by a tribunal that had no Ogoni indigene sitting in it? How could it be right when, in pursuit of the trial, Ogoniland itself had been terrorised by self-confessed sadists who worked for a regime that professed so much love for the Ogonis?

Indeed, the saga could not have been more unfortunate. Amid the gory comedy of errors, official Abuja metamorphosed into a hardened tribe, full of self-righteous rhetorics, ready to lampoon the whole world for its alleged hypocrisy, for its interference in Nigeria's internal affairs, and, more absurdly, for its irrelevance (as in the case of the British Commonwealth of Nations that suspended Nigeria's membership of the club) in the nation's affairs and fortunes. The ensuing melodrama of propaganda and intimidation of critics leaves the real issues unaddressed. One of these is the question of interference in Nigeria's internal affairs. Official spokesman of Aso Rock [seat of government, Abuja] may either have been disingenuous over this or they just are speaking with their tongues in their cheeks. At a time when Africa was proclaimed as the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy, there was little in Nigerian diplomacy that was not the pursuit of the freedom for South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Angola.

Only last year, the Abacha regime voted for the American invasion of Haiti, for the liquidation of that country's dictatorship and the consequent restoration there of democracy. For more than four years now, Nigeria has had and maintained troops in Liberia, an exercise for which it has spent a conservative \$4 billion. All these foreign escapades or constructive initiatives as they must be in Abuja's newspeak are outright cases of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The justifications for them, always noble, cannot now be said to be different and fraudulent in respect of countries, especially South Africa, which now call us to order by insisting that there be some basic code of conduct by which a Nigerian Government should treat its people.

The tragedy of, and the drift to the edge of the precipice by, Nigeria which the world witnesses today is a reverse revolution: it comes about not in 24 hours but over a long time. Ours, with over 250 tongues, is a failed federation. We run a federation where minorities with all their wealth are more of slaves than even second-class citizens. It is a federation in which a certain class sees itself as one with a divine right, sanctified by something higher than Papal infallibility, to rule for ever.

The rise of the military in politics has simply worsened this scenario, throwing up men like gods who are above the law and cannot be held accountable for their deeds. The accompanying larger-than-life corruption, the gross ineptitude, the deification of mediocrity as a state policy, the sweeping underground of dissent, the militarisation of political structures and the atomisation of society have all but given rise to a personal dictatorship that is as vacuous as it is sterile and bereft of profit. At a time and in an age when the awesome achievements of dictatorships, the world over, no longer justify this outdated form of government, our military's despotism is on the rise without as much offering a sop such as enlightenment or even progress. Thus, a country with 25 years of peace and which is a proud possessor of vast reserves of oil fully in exploitation is broke and owing some \$32 billion. Its economy has collapsed, causing a once promising people and the largest black nation on earth to be reduced to the world's 13th poorest, and to the status of some noisy, wretched pauper gone astray. Compare this to the late '60s when we fought a civil war without the support of oil and without incurring a single foreign debt.

What is the way out? Certainly not through the ongoing quixotic challenge to the rest of the world. (In fact, a situation where the whole world is mad and we remain the only sane people should lead us to questioning our sanity in the first place.) Nor is it through the costly but obnoxious theatre of hiring jobless men and women for pro-government demonstrations. We believe that great is the man who accepts his errors and duly apologises and makes amends for them. All those who today arrogate so much greatness to Abacha should do well by advising the general that the first step to full national reconciliation and for our acceptance by the international community is for this junta to tender an unreserved apology to the Ogoni people. This should be followed up by a UN inquiry into the Ogoni Affair. And as the Ogoni problem is intricately related to the roiling political crisis in the land, it is much a demonstration of great political wisdom that all political detainees, including the so-called coup-plotters, should be summarily released. More importantly, we as a nation, cannot afford to delay any longer the convening of a sovereign national conference to tackle the terms and basis of our association as a free and democratic federation. The greatness of the nation that General Abacha so self-righteously defines and espouses cannot, as it were, be different from that which the Nigerian people, acting in concert, proclaim by taking their fate in their own hand, in freedom and in a setting where an Ogoni, in spite of his being a minority, cannot be trampled upon as a second-class citizen. Now is the

dawn of that freedom. This much we believe, this much we call for.

Paper Denies Media To Blame for World Reaction

AB2411173095 *Lagos VANGUARD in English*
22 Nov 95 p 4

[VANGUARD editorial: "Spare the Media"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Why our leaders conveniently heap blames on the media at moments of national crisis remains a baffling phenomenon. The beat goes again as one top functionary after another and indeed some leaders of opinion outside government berate the Nigerian media for what they consider negative publicity in the aftermath of the Ogoni hangings.

The strong reaction of the international community to the incident and harsh comments by the foreign press are believed in this context to have been made possible by the news orientation of the Nigerian media. This

media bashing is in our view unnecessary diversionary and perhaps calculated to call a dog a bad name in order to have it hanged again.

The media, it must be stressed in the first instance, did not create the Ogoni crisis. All it had done was to offer suggestions on how to nip the crisis in the bud and prevent it from degenerating.

It stands to reason that if the pleas, suggestions, comments, proposals and views of the Nigerian media had been given some little consideration the confusion in which we find ourselves now could have been avoided.

Yet amid the on-going face-off between the government and the international community the media have continued to be patriotic by calling for understanding, reconciliation, restraint and genuine dialogue under an atmosphere devoid of the violation of the rule of law and social justice. No more can be expected from the fourth estate of the realm.

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